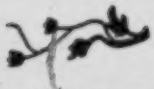

X 796 [805] **Twentieth Chapter**, which telleth of the feast and blood sacrifices which they made on the first day [and] month, which was named, and which they called, Atl cauaIo or Quauitl eua.[1]

Quauitl eua: This day came, and when it was this [month], a feast was then celebrated for the Tlaloca.

● [202] Everywhere on mountain tops, blood sacrifices[2] were made and sacrificial banners were hung. Blood sacrifices were made at Tepetzinco, or there in the very gulf of the lake at a place called Pantitlan.

[799] At this place they left consecrated papers[3] and set up long poles called *cuecuenxtli*, by means of which would come to pass greenness, sprouting, and growth.

[777 827] And there they took children, known as "human banners"[4]—those who had two cowlicks of hair and whose day signs were favorable. They were sought everywhere, and bought. It was said: "These are precious blood-offerings. [The rain gods] receive them with rejoicing; they wish for them; they are thus satisfied and given contentment." With them, the rains were sought; rain was asked.

And everywhere, in the houses, in each home, in each of the quarters where the young warriors were trained, and in each tribal temple, everywhere they erected the slender green poles; on them, they placed white paper flags dotted with large and small drops of liquid rubber.[5]

[202 314 289]

Jnic 20. capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn ilhuitl, yoan in nextlaoalitztli: in quichioaia, yn ipan vel ic cemilhuitl metztli; in quitocaiotiaia, in quitoaia atl caoalo anoço quauitl eoa.

Quauitl eoa, ynin ilhuitl quiçaia: auh yn iquac y, vncan ilhujqujxtililoia in tlaloque:

nextlaoaloia, in noujan tepeticpac, yoã neteteuhtóloia, onnextlaoaloia, in tepetzinco, anoço vmpa in vel aytic, ytocaiocan pantitla:

vmpa concanaia in teteujtl, yoan vmpa conquetzaia quaujtl, moteneoa cuenmantli, viujtlatztic, çan itech ieetiuh yn icelica, yn itzmolinca, yzcallo.

Yoan vmpa quimoncaoaia pipiltzintzinti, in moteneoaia tlacateteuhti: ichoãtin in vntecuezcomeque, in qualli intonal: noujan temoloia, patiiocoiloia: mitoaia, ca ichoantin vellaçonextlaoalti, vel quinpaccacelia quinnequj, ic vellamati, ic vellamachtilo, ynjc in ca qujiauhtlatlanjoa, quiiauhtlatlano.

Auh yn novian calpan, in techachan: yoan in tetelpuchcalco, in cacalpulco, noujian qujquetzaia, matlaquauhpitzaoc, tzonioquaujtl, itech qujtlatlaliaia amateteujtl, vltica tlaulchipinilli, tlavlchachapatztli.

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1. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, observes that Quauhtleua is the term used by the Mexicans. Cf. Manuel Orozco y Berra: *Historia antigua y de la conquista de México* (México: Tipografía de Gonzalo A. Esteva, 1880), Vol. II, p. 36: "*Xilomanaliztli.—Atlacahualco.—Cuahuitleua.—Cihuahuitl. Xilomanaliztli, obrada de xiloti ó planes: nombre usado por los de Tlaxcalla. Cuahuitleua, quemazon de los árboles: nombre perteneciente á lugares fuera de México. Atlcahualco ó Atlacahualco, nombre admitido por los mexicanos: segun el P. Leon, derivacion de las aguas, y es la interpretacion de todos que nada nos satisface. Cihuahuatl, fiesta de la mujer. El símbolo religioso es la imágen de Tláloc y su fatal reprobacion, con el agua entre las raices.*" Cf. also Francisco J. Clavijero: *Historia antigua de México* (México: Editorial Porrua, S. A., 1945), Vol. II, pp. 401-2: "*. . . el primer mes, cuyo nombre Acahualco o Atlacahualco, significa la cosecha del agua, pues en el mes de marzo crecen las flores del cerezero en los países septentrionales, en donde tuvo origen el calendario mexicano o tolteca. Le llamaban también Quauhitleoa, la que significa la vegetacion de los árboles, que se verifica en este tiempo en los países frios. Los tlaxcaltecas llamaban a este mes Xilomanaliztli, esto es, vilancico de las mazorcas de maiz, porque en él ofrecian a sus dioses las del año corrido, para ayudar la sazonez que por este tiempo comenzaban a hacer en los lugares ántes.*"

Angel María Garibay K. in "Relación breve de las fiestas de los dioses, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún" (Tlalocan, Vol. II), p. 291, translates *cuahuit ytleua* as *juzio se abra*. Eduard Seler, in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun und dem Anonymen mexikanischen Manuskript der Sammlung Ramirez*, Walter Lehmann, Walter Krickeberg, eds.; Stuttgart: Strecker und Schroeder, 1927), Vol. I, p. 59, translates the name as *die Baume erhoben sich* (*matchez sich auf dem Weg*).

2. *Nextlaoaloia*. Seler rather consistently renders forms of this word in terms of payment of a debt rather than of a sacrifice. Cf. *Indices* in Alonso de Molina: *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Leon Pinelo ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), and in Remi Simeon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885). In *Collected Works* (Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1960), Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 13, Seler says: "*The child sacrificed to the rain god were called nextlaoalli 'the debt paid.'*"

3. Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 292) translates *cuenmantli* as *tiras engrudar*.

4. In *loc. cit.*, Garibay renders *tlacateteuhtin* as *tiras humanas* and makes it clear (Nahuatl sentence No. 4) that the term refers to the children who died. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 55) refers to them as *Menschen-Opferstreifen* (*Opferpapiere in Menschengestalt*). They were actually have been paper streamers surmounted by a representation of a human head, and have symbolized the children who died. See illustration (Seler: *op. cit.*, p. 60) from the Biblioteca del Palacio MS.

5. See Note 3. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, refers to "*unos papeles, llenos de goma de olli a los quales papeles llamamos ostentacion.*" Thelma Sullivan (cf. *chartapume*, in Molina (*op. cit.*).

And when they were beheaded, they cast and threw them toward [the figure of] Uitzilopochtli.

And the quail, when their necks were wrung, went fluttering away, thrashing and striking the earth.

And the masters of the youths took them and gathered them up, stripped off the feathers, and roasted and salted them, seasoning them with salt.

Some they laid aside for Moctezuma, and the rest they assigned to his chiefs, only to the princes. And also to the masters of the youths, who marched in front, and also those [who were] priests.

And all took their large braziers—not their polished braziers. In them were coals and shavings of wood. They heaped it up, raised it, and made a hearth, and fired it with pine branches. And it burned exceedingly.

And they took white incense and coarse incense.[16] And when it was the proper time to offer incense, they laid coals in the incense burner and on it cast the white incense, and raised it as an offering to Uitzilopochtli.

Thus they offered him fire, they incensed him, not only here in the great temple but in their houses, and the tribal temples. Incense was offered all the gods whom they acknowledged.

And after they had dedicated the fire [and incense to the gods], then they cast the coals into the hearth [in the courtyard].

And the young women had painted their faces and were arrayed in red feathers.

And they fastened their sacrificial paper banners to canes. [The banners] were painted in black in what was called a scroll design.

And the rich [women and girls had] narrow cotton blankets thus fastened [to canes], likewise similarly painted with a scroll design.

And two masters of youths, with black paint spread on their faces, stood above and before the round fire vessel. Occupying the leading position, they carried on their backs pine wood cages with small paper banners; they carried them with tump lines which passed only across the chest.

They caused the women to begin the dance; they danced leaping, dancing in the fashion of women. And the women were in the middle, holding their sacrificial banners in both hands. They danced and

Auh yn iquac tlacotonalo, yujc contlaça yujc conmaiauj, in Vitzilopuchtli.

Auh in çaçalti in oquechcotonaloque, tlapapatlaztinemj papatlacatinemj, tlalli ic moujujtequj, tlalli ic momomotla:

auh in teachcauan quinpepena, quinnechicna, quinvihtlalia, quintleoatza, quimixtaioujia, quimixtaoquzuhouetza:

cequj quitonaltia yn Motecuçoma, auh yn oc cequj quintonaltiaia yn itechiuhcauan, çaniioque in pipilti. Auh no ichoantin in teachcauan, tlaiacatique: no ichoan in tlamacazque,

yoan muchi tlacatl quitquja yapãtlecax, amo ichouel in petztlecaxitl, vncan ietiuh tlexochtli, yoan tlaxipeualli, contepeuhtitlalia, contlecuja, contlecujtia, ocotica contlemjna, vncan tlãtlãrla.

Yoan quitquja iztac copalli: yoã quauhiocopalli: auh yn iquac yn ieinman, in ie tlenamaco, in tlexochtli qujoalteua, tlemãco, ipan contepeoa yn iztac copalli, ic conjiaujlia yn Vitzilopuchtli:

ic quitotonjlia, ic quipopochuja, amo çanyio vncan in vey teupã, çan no yoan intechachan, intecacalpulco, popochujlo in ixquichtin in tetruoan inpan quinmatia.

Auh yn ocoiauhque tletl njmã ie ic contema tlexicco:

auh in cioa ichpopuchti, mozaoaia, mopotonjaia tlapaliujtica:

yoan iztlticuh acatica quiquappachoa, tlilticatlacujlolli, motecaiotia acatilquj:

auh in motlacamati, canaoac ynjc quiquappachoa: çan no acatilquj ynjc tlacujlolli:

Auh vmentin in tiachcauã mixtlilpopotzque, haco mauj, tlexictli ixpan, quijacatitimauj ococalli in quimama, amapapaiocacuauti, çan quelpanmama.

quinpeualtilia yn cioa in nenetiliztli, ynic mjmia chocholoa, çan mocioiaiotia: auh in cioa çan tlattic in mauj, yn jmixuh coamamaja, quiyotitimauj,

16. Thus identified in Seler, op. cit., p. 107.

[If the captive was] a man, he burned

his streamers, and his cloak, and his breech clout, and all the things he had received, and his water gourd. All these he burned.

And a woman burned all her womanly array—her basket, her spindle whorl, her chalk, her spinning bowl, her warping frame, her cane stalks, her batten, her heddle, her divided cord which held [up the textile], her waist band, and her weaving stick, and her thorns, and her skeins, her shuttle, and her measuring stick.[7] All these she burned herself.

Of these of which they disposed in this wise, it was said that they would be needed where they were going, when they went; when they died, there [these things] would await them.

And when it dawned, all were adorned and arrayed. They put upon them their paper vestments, in which they were to die. When they had adorned them, then they were taken where they were to die. Two escorts led them; they went to take them up, and, lest they faint, laid hold of them. And two [escorts] were to bring [the bodies] down; they went to bring them down when they died, and a flag-bearer went bearing a flag. And two escorted each woman. They did likewise when they took each of the ceremonially bathed captives.

And when they had brought them [there], four captives to be slain went ahead. At the landing at

yoan imaxtli, yoā in quexquj itlaçtvil, yoā īuexuē muchi qujtlatia.

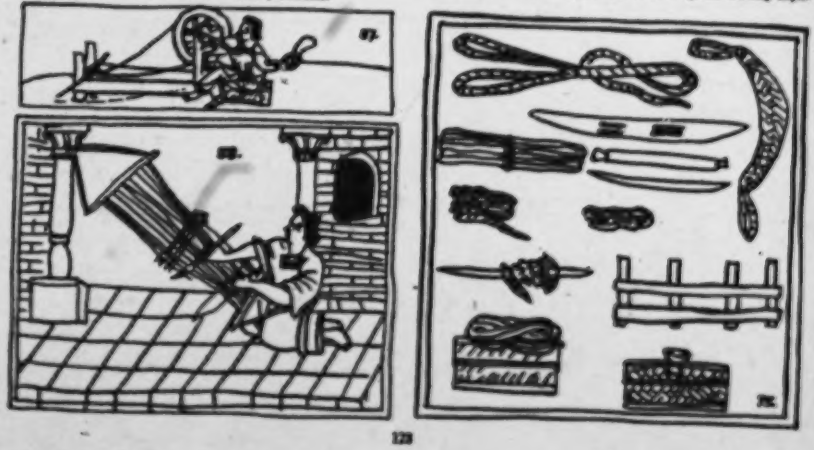
Auh in cioatl, muchi qujtlatia in jxqujch icioatlaquj: in jtana in jmalac, in jōçauh, in jtzaoalcax, in jtzaxtax, in jotlauh, in jxotzopax, in jteçac, in jmecamaxal, ineanaia, yoā itzopaia, yoan ivitz, yoan iquatzon, iziouh, yoan yiectacauh: muchi qujtlatia inoma.

Injc inh qujchioa y, qujlmach vmpa intech monequjx in vmpa iaxque, in jquac mjqujx vmpa qujoalchiaz.

Auh in oclatvic, mec tecīcaoalo, techichioalo, qujmonaaquja in amatlatqujtl, in jpan mjqujxque: in oqujnōchichiuhque, mec tevico in vmpa mjqujxque, qujnvica in teanque, vmentin quintlecavizque, in macana çotlaoa, quintzitzquizque: yoā vmētin tetemovizque, in quinoaltemovizque, in jquac onmjcque: yoan ce panoa, in quivicatiuh panjtl: yuan vmentin, teixamjque cioa: çan muchivi in quinvivica, cezenme tlaalnili.

Auh in oquimaxtique: iacattivi in mamalti mjquj navintin: apetlac in quimjilpilia imjcxi yoā inma:

7. These weaving implements have been tentatively identified with the assistance of Dr. Gladys A. Reichard, Barnard College, Columbia University, N. Y., and Dr. Bertha P. Dutton, School of American Research, Santa Fe. The accompanying drawings of weaving and weaving implements are from Books VIII and X, after Pero y Tezozomoc.



images], holding a vigil for them. And they blew trumpets and flutes for them.

And they who sounded trumpets were not those whose office it was [to blow trumpets], but youths. They were much honored; they were offered food and wine.

And after this, upon the next day, [the priests] then sought weaving sticks. Thereupon they implanted them in the breasts [of the images].[7]

And when they had set in [the weaving sticks], then they cut off the heads of the [figures of] amaranth seed dough. Then they seized what had been used for their hearts, and offered them up to them who had had the figures made, placing them in the green bowl.

And when this was done, when they had slain the [figures of] amaranth seed, thereupon they gathered and heaped up all the paper vestments of the mountain images. They burned [them] in the middle of the courtyard—they consumed them, they laid fire to them. And their little vessels, the little wooden vessels, all these [were] burned together.

And all the reed mats upon which they had stood, and the reed staves, and all the little vessels from which they had eaten, and the green jar, all [these] they took to the Mist House.

When they came [from] leaving these, thereupon first arrived the hidden guests, who were to feast in honor of the images. Then all were offered food, each severally and separately. When they had eaten, then they offered them wine.

And the women also entered. It was said, "They bring in the *tamales*." None came empty-handed; all of them came bringing dried maize kernels, the women carrying them in their skirts. And those who brought their ears of dried maize [brought] perhaps fifteen or twenty.

And when they sat down, when they took their places, then they offered them food. All were offered food. Then likewise they offered them wine, and made them drunk. They set before them wine in black vessels. And they offered them cups, drinking vessels, wine jars, which were also black.

And when they took away the white spotted paper

iuh ceioal in quincujcatia, quintoçavia, yoan quintlapichilia, quinvilacapitzalhuja.

Auh in tlapitzaia amo ichoan in tequippanoque, çan telpopochtin, cenca no mavizmachoia, tlamacoia, tlaitiloia.

Auh in ie iuhquj in otlatvic, mec conjtlanj in tzotzopaztli, njmā ie ic quimonaqujlia in iollopan.

Auh in oconaquili, njmā ic quioalquecheollalia in tzoalli, mec conanjlia in jiollo muchioa, quioalmaca in tepiquinj, xonovic xicalco, in quioallalilia:

auh in ie iuhquj in oquimōmjctique tzoalti: njmā ie ic quincenquiztia, quitecpichoa, in jxquich imamatlatquj tepictoton, itoalnepantla in tlatla, in contlatia, in cōtlecavia, yoan in incacaxxototon, in quauhcaxiotonti, muchi centlatla.

Auh in jxquich aztapilpetlatl in jpan onoca, yoan oztopilquavitl, yoan in jxquich in tlaquaia in caxtotonti yoan in chalchiuhtecomatl muchi vmpa concaoa in xiuhcalco.

In ie vi quicaoaque, njmā ie ic ommoiacatia, in tlacoanoxalti, in tepictlaquaxque: mec tetlamaco, cececnj, neixcavilo: in ontlaquaque, njmā ie ic quinmaca in vetli.

auh in cioa no calaquj, motencoa ontamalcaoa, xiac çan juh iuh, muchi tlacati itlaol quitquiztiuh in cioa quicuecuexanotivi: auh in aca icintzin in quitquj, aço caxtololotl, anoço tlamje.

Auh in omotecaque, in omotlalique, mec quintlamaca tetlamaco: njmā no quimaca in vetli, quintlaoltia, quioealmanjlia tlilapaxtica in vetli, yoā quioalmaoa in tetlacoa, in tlaoaonj, in tlaolcaxitl, çan no tlilic.

Auh in jquac concaoa tecvitl, in nentlacalli cōmo

7. The Palenke MS version differs (Ximénez, *op. cit.*, p. 319): "*tampoco quitaquendo aquellos [en la danza]que dan de comer a los demonios [dioses] que llaman [en] su lengua Tzotzopaztli, que es un palo cuadrado, con que tuerce [el] Maguey, [y] sacando de aquello, [y] cuadrado, arrancando el corazon, que llaman [en] su lengua Yollopan, en la [cazuela] de la greda, y entregandolo [a] aquellos, [que] encomendaban hacer [y] los Xiuhtlacuilos, y pintadores.*"

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banners, the offerings, they set them in order, and bound them upon the pole.[1]

Enough. Here endeth [the telling of] this feast, which was named Atemoztli.

mana, conjilpia cuenmantitech.

Iic ixquich, njcan tzonquiça inj ilhujtl in motecneoa Atemuztli.

1. The same pole is mentioned in the month of Ecahqualiztli. See pp. 77-8, 81.

S: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

Eleventh Chapter, in which is told what they did when it was seen and was evident that the new fire burst out.

Inic matlactloce capitulo, vncan mitoa: in tlein quichioaia, in icoac omottac, onez, in ocuepon iãcuic tletl.

And then everyone—the priests and fire priests—took the fire from there. [Having come] from all directions, the fire priests of Mexico had been sent there, charged with the task, as well as those who had come from distant [places] everywhere—messengers and runners. For these were all only chosen ones, strong warriors, valiant men, picked as best; the fleet, the swift, who could run like the wind. Because through them they could quickly have fire come to their cities.

Auh quinicoac, isquich tlacatl vmpa tlecui, in tlamacazque, in tletlenamacaque: inic ie nouiiampa vmpa oioaloque, oisquetzaloque, in mexico tlenamacaque, yoan in ie nouiian veca oaleoa, titlanti, tlaioaltin: ca çan much ichoan in pepenaloia, chicaoaque, in oquichtin, in tiacaoan in tlatzonanti, in painanj, in tlacçani, in iuhqui hecatoca ic motlaioa: ipampa inic iciuhca, caxitiuetzizque tletl imaltepeuh ipan:

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First, the fire brand was prepared and adorned. It was called *tlepilli*. And this the fire priests brought. Before [doing] anything else, they took it up, direct, to the top of the temple [pyramid], where was kept the image of Uitzilopochtli, and placed it in the fire holder.[16] Then they scattered and strewed white incense [over it]. And then they came down, and, also before [doing] anything further, they brought and took it direct to the priests' house, the place named Mexico.[17] Later, this was dispersed, and fires were started everywhere in each priests' house and each tribal temple; whereupon it went everywhere to each of the young men's houses. At that time all of the common folk came to the flame, hurled themselves at it, and blistered themselves as fire was taken. When thus the fire had been quickly distributed everywhere among them, each one laid a fire, and was quieted in his heart.

ca achtopa ic nenemachtiloia, muchichioaia in tlecuioani: itoca tlepilli. Auh ieehoatl, ic quioalaxitiaia in tlenamacaque: oc ie achto, vmpa quitlecauiaia, quitlamelaoaltiaia in iicpac teucalli: in vmpa mopieia ixiptla vitzilobuchtli, tlequazco contlaliaia: nimã ic contepeoa, contoxaoa in iztac copalli. Auh niman ic oaltemo, oc ie no achto, vmpa quitqui, quitlamelaualtia in calmecac, itocaiocã mexico: ic çatepan moiaoa, tletletlalilo in nouiian cacalmecac, cacalpulco: niman ie ic iauh, in nouiian tetelpuchcalli. Ie vncan in isquich onxoquiui, onmotepeoa, ontapaliui maceoalli, in motlecuilia: icoac ic nouiian, tepan moiaoatiuetzi in tletl netletletlalilolo, neioiollalilo.

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This same all the village fire priests did. That is, they carried the fire and made it hasten. Much did they goad [the runners] and make them hurry, so that they might speedily bring it to their homes. They hurried to give it to one another and take it from one another; in [illegible] way they went alternating with one another. Without delay, with ease, in a

Çã no iuh quichioa, in isquich altepeoa tlenamacac: inic quitquia, quinenemitiaia tletl, cẽca quitototzaia, quimotlalochtiaia: inic iciuhca caxitizque inchan, quimoamacatiquiça, quimocuicuilitiquiça: ic mopapatlatiui. Amo uecauh, amo machiztli, çan isquich caxitl, y, in conxxitiaia, in quicueponaltiaia: çan achitonca in nouiiampa, cuecuepocatimoteca

16. "Pu candelero, hecho de cal y caxon, puesto delante del pilote"—corresponding Spanish text.

17. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, thus explains this distribution: "I de allí tornaud y llevaron el aparato de los mensajeros, que se dicê mandaderos: y despues a otros aparatos, de los dichos mejicanos, de pilotes: y de allí tornaron, y llevaron todos sus mensajes, de la ciudad."

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Seventh Chapter, in which are told many things which came to pass when the Spaniards had not yet come to this land, until the year '50.*

In the year 1519, when the Captain, Don Hernando Cortés, came to sally forth, very many boats came, in which the Spanish host traveled. And when Moctezuma knew of it, then he sent his emissaries, and they carried as greetings very many and costly articles.

And they thought that Quetzalcoatl had come. And when he went to arrive, then they gave and took all [which they carried] as greetings to this Captain, Don Hernando Cortés.

And when these Spaniards came to enter [the land], then the Tlaxcalans' Otomí[1] [warriors] went to meet them in battle. Not few, but very many thus fought and waged war with the Spaniards. And all of the Tlaxcalans' Otomí [warriors] died; the Spaniards slew them. By this were the Tlaxcalans much frightened, and these Tlaxcalans then sent messengers, [who] went to offer them food and all which they might need. And they welcomed them and escorted them to the homes of Tlaxcala.

And for a few days the Spaniards tarried and rested there. And the Spaniards then went there to Cholula. There they slew many Cholulans.

And after this, when Moctezuma had heard of it, he was much frightened; and all the people of Tenochtitlan were exceeding fearful. So once again he sent messengers. These whom this Moctezuma sent, lords and noblemen, went to meet the Captain, Don Hernando Cortés; they took with them a great deal of gold. And they went to meet him there between Popocatepetl and Iztac cuatl, [at a place] named Itualco.* There they conferred [with Cortés; one of]

Injc chicome capitulo, vncan mjtoa mjiec tlamantli in inpan muchiuh in aiamo oalhuj españoles in njcan tlalli ipan, in jxqujchica vnpoalxiujtl onmatlactli. 175

In jpan xiujtl 1519 icoac quiçaco in capitan don hernando cortes, cenca mjiec in acalli oalla in vncan oalietiaque in españoles in iuqujxque: auh in oiuh qujma in ichoatl motecuçuma, njman tlaihoaiaque in jtitlanhoan, auh in qujequjque in tetlapaloliztli cenca mjiec, ioan cenca tlaçotli in tlatquitl. 175 648

Auh momatque, ca ichoatl in quetzalcoatl ohoalla: auh in jcoac oaçito njman mochi qujmamacaque in quitqujque tetlapaloliztli, in ichoatl, capitan don hernando cortes.

Auh in jcoac ie calactiujtze, in ichoantin españoles: njman quiiuiunamjquito, in tlaxcalteca, imotonhoan: amo çan quexquichtin, cenca mjiequintin, ic oquimjcalque, oquiniauchiuhque, in españoles. Auh mochintin, mjcque in tlaxcalteca imotonhoan, quinmjctique, in españoles: ic cenca momauhtique, in tlaxcalteca, auh in ichoantin, in tlaxcalteca, njmã ic tlaihoaque, quinmacato in tlaqualli, in jxquich intech monequj: ioan quinpaccatlapaloto: ioan quinhujcaque, in vmpa inchan in tlaxcallan.

Auh çan quezquilhuitl, in vncan motlalique, moçeuique, in ichoantin españoles. Auh in ichoantin, españoles njman iaque in vmpa chololan: vncan mjiequintin, quinmjctique, in chololteca.

Auh in jcoac, oiuh qujcac, in ichoatl motecuçuma, cenca momauhti: ioã yn jxquichtin, in tenochca cenca momauhtique: ic oc ceppa tlaihoa, in ichoatl motecuçuma ichoantin in quimjhoa in tetecuti, in pipiltin, quinamjquito, in capitan, don hernando cortes: cenca mjiec, in quitqujque, in teucujtlatl. Auh vncan in quinamjquito, in jtzalan popoca tepetl: ioan in jztac tepetl, in motenoa ithoalco. Vncan quinonotzaque, quimacaque in jtlatol, in jta motecu- [202]

* Corresponding Spanish text: "*hasta el año de 20.*"

1. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 102; Soler, *Hoaje Español*, p. 476, n. 1, citing Torquemada, cap. 66. Cf. also Sahagún (Kubnicki ed.), IV, pp. 436f., 149-150, n. 1.
See also Book XII, Chap. xi.

2. Itualco: in Rémi Siméon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885), it is described as a "*Mont qui domine à l'orient la vallée de Mexico.*"

565 871 there, corrected, and instructed; that he might live an upright life. They constrained him to do the penances, setting fir branches [on the city altars] at night, or there where they went to place the fir branches on mountain tops—there where sacrifices were made at midnight. Or else he entered the song house; they left him in the hands of the masters of the youths. They charged him with the sweeping, or with dancing and song—with all which was concerned with the performance of penances.

nemjx qujcujtlaujltia in tlamaceoaliztli, in iualtica in acxiatlaliliztli içaçocampa acxiatlaliti uh in tepeticpac, in vmpa onmjcoia ioalnepantla, anoce cujcacali qujcalaquja, inmac concaoa in tiachcaoan, qujcujtlaujltia in tlachpanaliztli, anoço cujcoianoliztli, in jxquich tlamantli tlamaçeoaliztli mochioaia.

565 868 701 And when he was already fifteen years old, then he took up arms; or, reaching twenty years of age, then he went forth to war. First [his parents] summoned those who were seasoned warriors. They gave them to eat and to drink, and they gave gifts to all the seasoned warriors. They gave them large, cotton capes, or carmine colored breech clouts, or capes painted with designs. And then they besought the seasoned warriors; in just the same way as hath been told above, so they entreated them.

Auh in jcoac ie caxtolxiuhtia icoac moiaomamachtia anoço açi cempoalxiujtl injc qujça iauc, in iehoantin tequjoaque achtopa qujnnotza quintlaqualtia. qujmatlitia, ioan quintlauhtia in jxqujchtin tequjoaque, in qujnmaca aço quachtli anoço nochpalmaxtlatl, anoço tlacujlolli in tilmatli. Auh njman qujtlatlauhtia in tequjoaque, çan ie no iuhquj in omjto tlacpac injc quintlatlauhtia.

And then they took him to the wars. The seasoned warriors went taking great care of him, lest somewhere he might be lost. And they taught him well how to guard himself with a shield; how one fought; how a spear was fended off with a shield. And when a battle was joined, when already there was fighting and perhaps already captives were being taken, they taught him well and made him see how he might take a captive. Perhaps then he took a captive with the aid of others, or he [alone] could take one.[2] For truly it was well seen to that many men become brave warriors.

Auh njman ic qujhujca, in iauc: vel qujmocujtlaujtiuj in tequjoaque, in ma cana xiccaoalo: auh vel qujmachtia, in iuh momana chimalli, in iuh iautioa, in iuh mochimaltopeoa mjtl. Auh in jcoac ie mochioa iauiotl, in ie necalioa, anoce ie tlamalo, uel conjttitia, vel contlachieltia, in vmpa tlamaz: aço njmā tepallama, anoço njman vel ic caçi ipampa ca cenca necujtlaujlo ca mjiec tlacatl in jtiacauh mochioa.

● [202] And when captives were being taken, then at once couriers, of marriageable age, quickly went forth, called victory messengers, who speedily went to inform Moctezuma.

Auh in ie tlamalo, njman achtopa oalpeuhtiquiça in tequjtque tlapaliuj, intoca tequjpan titlanti in qujoalnonotzziuetzi motecuçuma:

And when the victory messengers had come to arrive, then they quickly entered into the presence of Moctezuma and said to him: "O our lord, O my youth, pay thy debt and thy service [to the god]; for the omen of evil, Uitzilopochtli, hath shown favor and been gracious. For they have pierced the rampart of men dexterous in arms of the city against which they have gone. Into it have marched[3] the Mexicans of Tenochtitlan, the Mexicans of Tlatilulco, the Tepaneca, the Acolhua, the Otomí, the Mazatzinca,

auh in oacico tequjpan titlanti, njman ic hiciuhca calactiuetzi ipan in motecuçuma qujlhuja. Totecujoe notelpoxine, ma ximotlacotili, ma ximotequjtili, ca oicnopiltic, onmaceoaltic, in tetzaujtl in ujcxilobuchtli, ca otepan qujtopeuh in quauhtenamjtl, in ocelotenamjtl, ca oia in altepetl: in vmpa tlatlamatiticque in mexica tenochca, in mexica tlatilulca, in tepanecatl, in acolhoa, in otomjtl, in mazatzincatl, iie iuquich tlalhuacpanecatl in chinampanecatl.

2. *Vid. in cast.: the Real Academia de la Historia MS has or has it.*
3. *Tlaloncuetlaque: Simões, op. cit.—Galvanoni[sic].*

and finally all the people of the uplands and those of the swamp lands."[4]

And Moctezuma said to them: "You have tired yourselves; you have suffered affliction, O men dexterous in war. Rest yourselves. [But] perhaps you only fool me. Let me still behold the truth of your account."

And then he confined them. If the report which they had made were not true, Moctezuma jailed them and did away with them

And there in battle was when captives were taken. When it had come to pass that they went against and conquered the city, then the captives were counted, there, in wooden cages: how many had been taken by Tenochtitlan, how many had been taken by Tlatilulco, and by the people of the swamp lands and the people of the dry lands everywhere. The captives were examined [to determine] how many groups of four hundred were formed.

Those who counted were the generals and the commanding generals. And then they sent messengers here to Mexico. Those who were sent as messengers were seasoned warriors, who informed Moctezuma of the great veracity of the four-hundred count. They brought word of how many groups of four hundred had been made captive.

And then they declared to him how many of the noblemen had won their reward for having made captives; that haply a number [of them] had had their hair thorn as seasoned warriors, or that some [had been made] leaders of the youths. When Moctezuma heard this, he rejoiced exceedingly, because his noblemen had taken captives. And at that time he freed those whom he had cast in jail—the victory messengers—and he gave them gifts along with the others.

And if war should be proclaimed against Atlixco, or Uexotzinco, and if there once again they took captives, they won much glory thereby; Moctezuma accorded them great honor for it. For his noblemen had taken captives, and had gained repute, and had reached the station of nobility—the estate of the eagle and the ocelot warriors. From there they came to rule, to govern cities; and at that time they seated them with [the nobility], and they might eat with Moctezuma.

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Auh qujmjlhujaia in motecuma, oanqujcjauhque, oanqujhijoujque in ocelocujchtle: ximotlalican aço çan annechixtlacahuja, ma oc njcchia in jneltica tlatolli:

[687]

auh njman qujmoncaltzaqua intlacamo melaoac tlatolli oqujcaqujtique motecuma quintlatlatia quinpopoloa.

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Auh in vmpa iauc in iquac otlamaloc, in ie ihuqui in oia in oompoliuh, altepetl, njman ic mocempoa in mamalti, in vncan oacaltitla quezquj oaxioac in tenochtitlã, quezquj oaxioac in tlatilulco, auh inic noujian cenchinanpanecatl, centlalhoacpanecatl, mocemjtta in mamalti quezqujtzontli omochiuh.

[202
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Jehoantin tlapoa in tlatlacochcalca, in tlatlacatecca: auh njman ic oallatitlanj, in njcan mexico, in oalmotitlanj iehoantin in tetequjoaque, in qujoalnonotza motecuçuma, in ie uel imelaoaca in jcentzontecca, in qujoalitquj tlatolli, in quezqujtzontli omochiuh malli:

[431]

auh in qujmelaujliaia in quezquintin otlacnopilhujque in pipilti in otlamaque, aço cequintin motequjoacaxima anoce cequintin telpuchiacati. Jn qujcaquja in motecuçuma cenca ic papaquja ipampa ca ipilhoan in ontlamaque: auh quinjquac quinquixtiaia, in quincaltzaquaia in tequipan titlanti quimõtehoan motlatlauhtia.

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Auh intla oalmjtoz iaujoti in atlixco, aço vexotzinco, intla oc ceppa vmpa tlamaxque, cenca ic vel panuetzi, ic cenca uel qujmmaujxtilia in motecuçuma: ipampa ca ipilhoan in ontlamaque, in onmoteniotique in oconmjiaoaiotique in pilloti in quauhioti, in oceloiotl, ic oncan in quiça in tlatocati, in quipachoa altepetl, auh quinjquac intlan quintlalia: ytlan tlaqua in motecuçuma

4. Chimalpopoca: Sahagún's comment on fol. 1r of Book X of the Florentine Codex is descriptive: "y he de la diosa cinta, que son las cerradas de los chimpan."

Appendix B

Continuation of the Twentieth Chapter[1]

. . . Then were rewarded the seasoned warriors who had brought word of the great veracity of the four-hundred count.[2]

And in this wise the messengers entered; if the flesh of men had been taken captive, it was thus soon made known—all came tying and binding their hair, for the flesh of men had been taken and they thus made it evident. And much did the common folk rejoice when the saw them [and noted] that they came binding [their hair]. They said: "And so[3] the flesh of men hath been taken captive; for all the messengers go with bound [hair]!" And if some came separate [from the others], and came no more with their hair tied and bound, but went with it quite loose, thus they made it known that [our men] had been made captive and that there had been losses in the war. And when the common folk saw them, then a cry of grief arose. Then they said: "And so[4] there have been losses!"

And the noblemen, when they had taken some captives, did not anoint themselves with yellow but rather stained themselves with red ochre, which they put on all over; and they were pasted with eagle down. And Moctezuma rewarded them all with princely capes and breech clouts of great value and high honor, and with preciously wrought quetzal feather devices [ornamented] with gold, and with shields with, perhaps, quetzal feather garlands—very rich shields.

And if one's captives came alive, then he had stewards guard them, and they took great care of them lest they take sick; perhaps it might be twenty or forty that they would guard.

And at the time when the captive was to die, then

. . . in iquac motlauhtia tequiuaqz,[5] y uel ymelauaca i ye ycentzontecca, oquiualitq'qz tlahtolli. 202 701

Auh inic ualcalaquia in titlanti intla otonacatlamaloc. ic monestitiuitze mochinti quihcuistiuitze in inquatzõ ontlalpihtiuitze. ypampa ca otonacatlamaloc. ic quitemachitiaya. Auh cenca ic pahpaqz im maceualti in q'mittaya. in ontlacuistiuitze. quitoua. anca otonacatlamaloc ca mochintin ontlacuistiui in titlanti. auh intla ceq'ntin ic xeliuhtiuitze in aocmo ontlalpihtiuitze, y aocmo. yhcuistiuitz inquatzõ y ça tontiuh. yc quinestiaya. ca otlamaloc, yuan omicouac ỹ yaoc. Auh in oq'mittaqz maceualtin nimã ic tlachoquiztleua. niman iuh quitoua, anca omicouac. 201 727

. auh im pipilti in iquac tlaotlamahqz. amo motecoçauhaltia, çan tlauhtica mohçaya quicemaqz in nouia intech. auh mopotonia quauhtlachcayotica. auh in q'ntlauhtia moteccuiçoma moch yeuatl in tlatocatilmahtli. in tlatocamastlatl. y cẽca tlaçotli immauizço. yuan tlaçotlanq' quetzallauiztli teocuitlayo. yuan chimalli. aço quetzalcozcayo y uel tlaçotli chimalli. 565 302 727 431

auh ỹ yeoatl ymal intla oualyoltia niman q'mpieltia in calpixqz uel quimocuitlauia inic amo cocolizcuiz intla oc cempoualtiz anoço compoualtiz. in ẽpiexque. 727

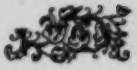
Auh i ye yquac miquiz malli. ỹ yehuatl tlamani 000

1. See ending of Chapter 20, above.
This passage originally, in the *Real Academia* MS, completed the section ending *ihkuel quintlehenoa motlalnelia*. The remaining part of Chapter 20 there appears as an interpolation.

2. The abbreviation for the ending *-que* in the original resembles *-qz*, and is thus reproduced here.

3. This phrase appears capable of more than one interpretation: cf. Molina, *op. cit.*, *damecoyaquilo*, and *ayamo*, *ayamoca zaquilo*. Siler's translation of a similar passage in Chapter 20 (*Ensign Reprint*, p. 331)—*iyo uel y malonaca intecuiotonaca*—is "*in richtiger Weise die Zahl der Fürstenherrn.*"

4. *Amo*: cf. Angel María Garibay K.: *Llave del Náhuatl* (Otumba, Méx.: [Imprenta Mayé], 1940), p. 108; also Horacio Carochi: *Arte de la lengua mexicana*. (México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1892), p. 519.



005 **Third Chapter, where is told what Moctezuma commanded when he heard the account of those who saw the boat which first came.**

Injc ei capitulo: vncan mjtoa in tlein ic tlanaoati Motecuçoma in jquac oqujcac intlatol, in iehoantin in quittaque acalli in achto valla.

Moctezuma thereupon commanded [Pinotl] of Cuetlaxtlan and the others, and said unto them: "Ye shall order that guard be kept everywhere on the shores [at the places] thus named: Nauhtlan, Toztlan, and Mictlanquauhtla — wheresoever [the strangers] would come to land."

In motecuçoma, njman ie ic q'nnaoatia in Cuetlaxtecatl, yoan in jaqujntin: quimjlhuj. Xitlanaceticā, ma tlapiclo, in noviā atenco; injc mjtoa. Nauhtlan Toztlan, mjctlan quauhtla: in campa ie quiçaquivi:

Then the stewards departed. They gave the command that watch be kept.

njmī ic iaque in calpixque, tlanaoatique injc tlapicloia.

644 And Moctezuma assembled his lords: the ruler's vicar Tlilpotonqui, the commanding general Quappiaztzin, the army commander Quetzalaztatzin, and the uitznauatlailotlac Ecatenpatiltzin.[1] He acquainted them with the news and he showed and discovered to them the necklaces which [the messengers] had brought him.

Auh in motecuçoma: qujncentlali in jtecuiçoan, Cioacoatl, Tlilpotonqui, Tlacochcalcatl, Quappiaztzin, Ticociaoacatl, Quetzalaztatzin, Vitznaoatlailotlac, hecatenpatiltzin: qujncaqujti in tlatolli, yoan quimjttiti, quimjxpanti in quioalcujque coxcatl:

He said to them: "We have marveled at [this] fine, blue turquoise. It shall be well guarded. The keepers will protect it well. If they lose one [piece, their houses will be] our houses; [their children,] our children; [their women with child,] our women with child."[2]

quimjlhuj. Ca oticmaviçoque in matlalteuxivitl, vel mopiaz, in tlatlatique vel quipiazque: intla centetl quichitonizque tocacal, topipilhoan, titetheoan.

006 And then the year made its round. When [the year] Thirteen Rabbit met [One Reed], when already it was about to end, at the time of the closing of [Thirteen][3] Rabbit, then [the Spaniards] came to arrive. Then once again were they seen.[4]

Auh njman ie mocuepa in xivitl, ie imonamjcioc in matlactli omei tochtli: auh ie tlamjznequj, ie itzonquizian in xivitl omei tochtli, in quiçaco, in ie no ceppa ittoque.

773 [202] And then [the stewards] hastened to inform Moctezuma. When he learned of it, then speedily he dispatched messengers. For thus he thought, and it was so regarded, that this was Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl who had arrived. For thus was it [held] in their hearts that indeed he would come — that he would come to land on and visit his domain.[5] For

Auh njman quinonotztivetzico in Motecuçoma, in oquicac, njman iciuhca tlaioa, in iuh quima, in iuh moma, ca iehoatl in topiltzin Quetzalcoatl in oquiçaco: ca iuh catca iniollo in çan oallaz, in çan quiçaquiuh, quioalmatiz in jpetl, in jcpal: ipampa ca vmitztia, in jquac ia. Auh in quimjtoa macujltin, in quinnamjquiztivi, in quitlamamacativi: in teiacantia

1. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo ed.), II, p. 339; also James Cooper Clark: *Codex Mendoza* (London: Waterlow & Sons, 1938), Vol. I, p. 56. For some titles, like uitznauatlailotlac, a satisfactory English equivalent is difficult to suggest.

2. Cf. Ixtlilxochitl, *op. cit.*, p. 480; also corresponding Spanish text: "*pequeña es las que dexan cargo de guardar la recamara.*"

3. Before *omei*, in the Aztec text, probably *matlactli* should be read.

4. Arrival of Cortés in 1519.

5. In Angel María Garibay K.: *Llave del Náhuatl* (Otumba: [Imprenta Mejía], 1940), p. 188, the passage "*Ca yuh catca in iquallo in can hualloz, in can quiçaquiuh, quioalmatiz in ipetl in icpal*" is thus translated: "*Assi fue su determinacion, que hubiese de venir, hubiese de regresar, hubiese de tornar a su tierra y estrado.*"

golden shells used upon his ankles; and a shield with a golden disc in the center, and spread quetzal feathers along its [lower] rim, and also with a quetzal feather banner.[19] [He had] the curved staff of the wind god, hooked at the top,[19] and white precious stone stars[20] spread over it; and his foam sandals.

Behold, these [were] all the things called the array of the gods, which became the charge of the messengers, and yet many more things which they bore as their greeting gifts — the shell-shaped headpiece of gold, with pendant parrot feathers;[21] the golden conical cap,[22] etc.

Thereupon were baskets filled; wooden frames for carrying burdens on the back were loaded. And the five [messengers] named, Moctezuma then commanded; he said unto them: "Go! Linger nowhere! Pray to our lord the god; say unto him: 'Thy servant Moctezuma hath sent us; behold what he offereth you, for [the god] hath come to reach his wretched home in Mexico.'"

And when they had gone to reach the coast, they ferried them across, they took them by boat across to Xicalanco. Then once again they departed from there by boat; the water folk took them. Everything was placed and heaped in the boat; they filled the boat with the goods. And when the boat was filled, thereupon they departed. They betook themselves into the water and left to reach the boats [of the Spaniards], they approached their boats.

Then [the Spaniards] inquired of them: "Who are you? Whence came you?"

Then [the messengers] answered them: "We have come from Mexico."

Again [the Spaniards] said to them: "Perhaps not. Perchance you only claim to come from there. Perhaps you only pretend. Maybe you make sport of us."

But when they had verified it, when they had quieted their doubts, then they hooked the prow of the boat with an iron pole, and thus drew them near. Then also they let down a ladder.

yoã hecaxnecujlli, quacoltic, iztac chalchivitl inje citlallotoc yoan ipoçolcac. 431 776 301 292

Oca inqujtlamãtli in, in motenema teutlatqujtl in intlatquj mochiuhtia titlanti, yoan oc cenca mjec tlamantli in qujtqujque in intenamjquja Teucujtlaquatecciztli tzotlapiollo, teucujtlacopilli, etc. 431 301

Niman ie ic tlatanatemalo, tlacacaxchichicalo. Auh in onotenecuhque macujlxin; njman ie ic qujnnaoztia in Motecuçoma: qujmjlhuj. Tla xivian, ma cana anvecauhti, xicmotlatlauhtilican in totecujo in teutl: xiqujlhujcan, ca otechalioa in motechiuhcauh Motecuçoma: izcatquj mjtzalmomaqujlia, ca omaxtitico in jchãtzinco mexico: 431 482 202

Auh in oncito atenco, qujmõpanavique, acaltica qujmonvicaque in xicalanco: ie no ceppa vncan onoeaĉ acaltica qujnvicaque in atlaca, moch onmacalaquj, onmacalten, conacaltenque in tlatqujtl. Auh in ontlaacaltemaloc, njman ie ic vi, onmatoctique, itech onacito in jmacal, itech compachoque in jmacal. 505

njmã qujnoalihujque. Ac ameoan? campa anoallaque? 648

njman iuh qujnnanqujlique. Ca vmpa tioallaque in Mexico:

oc ceppa qujnoalihujque. Acaçomo, aço çan vmpa anmotlamja, aço çan anqujpiquj, aço çã toca anmocacaiaoa.

Auh in ovel yiollo macic, in oiniollopachiuh. Niman ic qujoaliacatzopinjque in acalli, tepuztopilticia, ic qujnoalhilinjque: njman no quicalquetzaque ecamatli.

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18. *Ibid.*: "la qual rodela estaua bordada con plumas ricas en la horo de la rodella [sic] auia otra cenefa de plumas ricas."

19. *Ibid.*: "yo bordo labrado de manojos de turquesas y en la bouba de arriba puestas unas plumas ricas o gorbia entrepuestas en la obra de arriba."

20. Literally, white green stone. The term *chalchihuitl*, often translated "jade" or "jadeite," may well have included various kinds of stones. Hence, our translation has adopted the term "green stone."

21. *Ibid.*: "una mjtra de oro hecha a manera de corona redonda al cabo tenjendo de plumas ricas que colgauan hasta las espaldas."

22. Corresponding Spanish text: "una mjtra llana."

13

[p. 14 is blank]

000 smarteth. Where, in truth, [may we turn], O our lord?"

Then [the messengers] commanded those who watched; they said to those at the head of the guard: "Even though he sleepeth, tell him: 'Lo, they whom thou hast sent over the water have come!'"

And when they went to tell him, then he replied: "I shall not hear it here; I shall hear it in the Coa-
727 calli. There let them go." And he commanded and
782 said: "Let two captives be covered with chalk."

● [203] And then the messengers went to the Coacalli,[1] and also the noble Moctezuma himself.

Thereupon, before them, were slain the captives; they slashed open their breasts; they sprinkled the messengers with their blood. For this reason did they so do: that they had traveled into very perilous places; that they had gone to see — had looked into the faces and at the heads of, and had verily spoken to — the gods.

Niman quimõnaoatique in quipia in itzontlan tlapia quimonilhuique intla mocochitia xicmolhuilican ca ovallaque in tiquinmotitlanj atl itic.

Auh in oconjlhujto: njman quioalito. Amo njcan njccaquiz, vmpa njccaquja in coacalco, ma vmpa vian, yoan oallanaoti: quioalito: ma ontetiçavilo in mamalti.

Auh njman vmpa iaque in coacalco in titlanti: no ichoatl in motecuçomatzin,

njmã ie ic imixpan mjcoa quimelletequj in mamalti, in jquezio ic quimonamaelhuiaia in titlanti (ipampa in juh quichiuhque in, ca cenca ovican in ovia ca oquimjttato, imixco imjcpac otlachiato, vel oquinnotzque in teteu.

1. Cf. Andrews and Dibble, op. cit., VIII — *Kings and Lords*, p. 95.

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Astec NU7

CCC Nineth Chapter. Here it is told how Moctezuma wept; and the Mexicans wept when they learned that the Spaniards were very powerful.

Inic chicunavi capitulo: vncã mjtoa in quenin chocac Motecuçomatzin, yoan in chocaque mexica, in jquac oquimatque, ca cenca chicaoaque in Españoles.

And Moctezuma became very fearful; he felt foreboding and was frightened and terrified, and foresaw evil for the city.

Auh in motecuçoma cenca tlatenma, motenma, momauhti, mjçavi, quitlatenmachili in altepetl,

And everyone was sore afraid. There were fear, terror, dread, and apprehension. There were discussion, the forming of single groups, and hastening by. All wept—wept much; they shed tears for the people. They went with heads hanging and countenances fallen. All greeted one another tearfully and spoke to others with tears. They gave them comfort and consoled themselves. They stroked the heads of [their young]; the hair of the small boys was smoothed down. Fathers said: "Woe, my sons! How may you withstand what hath befallen you and what will come to pass?" And mothers said: "My sons, how may you withstand what you will marvel at and what is now to befall us?"

yoan in ie ixquich tlacatl, cenca momauhtique, nemauhtiloc neiçaviloc, tlatẽmachoc, netenmachoc, nenonotzalo, nececentlalilo, neohololoolo, nechoqujlilo, nechochoqujlilo, techoqujlilo, ça tlaquechpilivi, ça tlaquechvi, nechoqujztlapalolo, techoquiztlapalolo, teellaquaoalo, neellaquaoalo, tepepetlalo, pepetlalo in pipiltzitzinti: in tetaoan quitoa: Veh nopilhoñtzitzine, quen vel ameoantin in o amopan muchiuh, in tlein ie muchioaz: auh in tenanoan quitoa. Nonopilhoantzitzin, que ço uel amehoanti in anquimaviçozque in tlein ie topan muchioaz:

And it was told, discovered, shown, set forth, announced, and given as assurance to Moctezuma that a woman of our people here, was bringing them here and interpreted [for them]. Her name [was] Marina; Teticpac [was] her home. There at the coast they had first come upon and taken her.[1]

yoan ilhujloc ixpantiloc, machtiloc, nonotzaloc, caquitiloc, yiollo itlan tlaliloc in Motecuçoma: ce cioatl njcan titlaca in quinoalhujcac in oalnaoutlatõtia: itoca Malintzi teticpac ichan, in vmpa atenco, achto canaco.

202 And at that time they began no longer to place themselves at [the Spaniards'] feet; the messengers simply went fleeing—they who had overseen the various things of which everywhere they stood in need.

Auh njman iquac peuh: in aocmo onnecxitlalilo, in ça mocujtlacueptinemj in titlanti, in jpan ontlatoa in jxquitlamantli, in jxqujcan icac in intech monequjz.

CCC And at this same time, [the Spaniards] came inquiring about Moctezuma: "What sort [of man is he]? Perchance a youth? Perchance mature? Or already old? Perhaps he is already advanced in years, already approaching a ripe age?—An old man, already white-haired?" And they replied to the gods, the Spaniards: "He is a mixture man, not fat but rather slender; spare—small and thin."

Auh çan njmã no iquac in quitemotivitze Motecuçoma: quenamj cujx telpuchtli, cujx yiolloco oquichtli, cujx ie veve, cujx ie tlachicalhuja, cujx ie veve tlamati, cujx ie veve tlacatl, cujx ie quaiztac? Auh quinnanquilaia in teteu in Españoles: ca yiolloco oquichtli, amo tomaoac, çan pitzactõtli, çan pipiztactentli, çan cujlloteiotentli.

1. It appears well established that the birthplace of la Malinche (Malina, Malintzin) was Painalla, a town now disappeared, which was south of Coatzacoalcos. It is shown in the map in Francisco Javier Clavijero's *Historia Antigua de México* (personal communication, Rafael Garcia Granados).

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202 And all which came to pass, all [this] news they laid before, told, and related to Moctezuma. And the messengers all came, all set forth, took flight. It was no longer a time of calm to listen—for the message to be heard. For all the common folk went in uproar; there were frequent disorders. It was as if the earth quaked, as if the earth quivered—as if the surface [of the land] circled in tumult. There was terror.

And when death had come to Cholulla, then [the Spaniards] started forth in order to come to Mexico. Marshaled together, in a concourse, they came stirring up the dust. Their iron lances, their iron halberds glistened [from afar], and their iron swords moved in a wavy line like a water [course]. Their iron shirts and iron head gear jingled. And what some wore was all iron; they came turned into iron, gleaming. Hence they caused astonishment; thereby they aroused great terror. Because of it they were regarded with much dread—they were greatly feared.

And their dogs came ahead. They went before them. At the vanguard they came, in the lead. They came at their head. They came panting, foam dropping [from their mouths].

Auh in ixquich muchioaia, muchi quioalmacaia, quioalilhuiaia, quioalcaquitiaia in tlatolli in Motecuçoma. Auh in titlanti, ixquich oalaci, ixquich vmpeoa, çan mocuitlacueptinemj, aoc quenman cactoc in quicaquj, in caquitilo tlatolli: auh in ie ixquich tlacatl maceoalli, çа mâcomantinemj, çа achcan mocomonja, çа iuhquin tlallolinj, çа iuhquin tlalli xoxoquivi, çа iuhquin tlaixmalacachivi, mavizcuioac.

Auh in ommjcoac chololan: njmâ oalpeuhque in ie ic vitze Mexico, ololiuhtivitze, tepeuhtivitze, teuhtli, quiquetztivitze, in intepuztopil, in intzinacantopil iuhquin tlapepetlaca: auh in intepuzmaquauh, iuhquin atl monecuiloa, iuhquin tlacacalaca in intepuzvipil, in intepuzquacalala. Auh cequintin vel much tepuztli motquitivitze, tetepuztin muchiuhtivitze, pepetlacativitze: ic cenca valmomavizçotitiaque, ic cenca oalmotlamauhtilitiaque: ic cenca mauhcaittoia, ic cenca imacaxoia.

Auh in jmjtzcuinoan iacattivitze, quiniacantivitze iniacac icativitze, iniacac onotivitze, hiicicativitze, intenqualac pipilcativitz.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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and without turning their backs and with three obeisances they retired to the hall, and as soon as they left the presence of Montezuma they put on their rich garments and took walks through Mexico.

I will not say anything more at present about this imprisonment, and will relate how the messengers whom Montezuma sent with his sign and seal to summon the Captains who had killed our soldiers, brought them before him as prisoners, and what he said to them I do not know, but he sent them on to Cortés, so that he might do justice to them, and their confession was taken when Montezuma was not present and they confessed that what I have already stated was true, that their Prince had ordered them to wage war and to extract tribute, and that if any Teules should appear in defence of the towns, they too should be attacked or killed. When Cortés heard this confession he sent to inform Montezuma how it implicated him in the affair, and Montezuma made all the excuses he could, and our captain sent him word that he believed it [the confession] himself, but that although he [Montezuma] deserved punishment in conformity with the ordinances of our King, to the effect that any person causing others, whether guilty or innocent, to be killed, shall die for it, yet he was so fond of him and wished him so well, that even if that crime lay at his door, he, Cortés, would pay the penalty with his own life sooner than allow Montezuma's to pass away. With all this that he [Cortés] sent to tell him, he [Montezuma] felt anxious, and without any further discussion Cortés sentenced those captains to death and to be burned in front of Montezuma's palace. This sentence was promptly carried out, and, so that there could be no obstruction while they were being burned, Cortés ordered shackles to be put on Montezuma himself, and when this was done Montezuma roared [with rage], and if before this he was scared, he was then much more

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

72 country, had permitted their *coming* unmolested,[137] their *return*, once outside of the council-house, was not placed under any similar safe-guard. Oftentimes that return to Mexico was attended with the most imminent personal danger to the delegates.[138]

The cases, if any, are certainly few in number, where a tribe thus provoked or defied, *voluntarily* submitted to tribute. The Mexicans could be *sure*, almost, of war, *whenever their supreme council had agreed upon it.* Therefore, as soon as the meeting at the official house had concluded, war was proclaimed in the four quarters of the pueblo, and in case of great urgency, a monstrous [202] drum, with a specially dismal sound, called the whole tribe to arms from the top of the chief temple.[139]

72 Owing to the peculiar organization just discussed, a rapid mobilization of the forces of the whole tribe was very feasible. The minor subdivisions gathered under their "captains," and all together proceeded almost simultaneously to the store-houses of the four great quarters of the tribe, where the stewards dealt out the

[137] Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 535): "que aunque estas Gentes eran de su "natural condition mas vengativas, que todas las del Mundo, respetaban a' los Embax- "adores de sus mortales enemigos, como a' Dioses, teniendo por mejor violar qualquier "rito de su Religion, que pecar contra la fé dada á los Embaxadores."

[138] For comparison with Loskiel on the northern Indians (Cap. XI, p. 187) see Tezozomoc (Cap. VIII, p. 15). When the "Atempanecatl Tlacaelelitzin" returned for the second time to Azcaputzalco, this time to challenge the Tecpanecas and defy them to open war, and after he had properly decorated their war-chief Tezozomoctli, the latter gave to him a sword, a shield, and a helmet, saying: "Take here, also, something to "protect your body, and this shield and sword, "maccuahuitl," and see if you may "return home safely." Atempanecatl was attacked by Tecpanecan scouts, pursued as far as upon Mexican soil, and escaped only through his swiftness and personal bravery. This episode is confirmed by Durán (Cap. IX, p. 74), and by Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XII, pp. 482 and 483), although they both say that the Mexican delegate escaped by avoiding the warriors of the Tecpanecas by circuitous paths. Still, it shows that his return was attended with great personal danger. Clavigero (Lib. III, cap. XVII) attributes this action to the first Montezuma. ("Huehue-Monteruma," or "Monteruma Ilhuicamina.")

[534] [139] Bernal-Diez (Cap. XCII, Vedia, II, pp. 90 and 91). On the top of the great temple: "y alli tenian un tambor muy grande endemasia, que cuando le tanian el sonido "del era tan triste y de tal manera, como dicen instrumento de los infiernos, y mas de "dos leguas de alli se oia; y decian que los cueros de aquel tambor eran de sierpes muy "grandes." Besides this drum they used conch-shells in great numbers, thus creating a horrid noise. The Spaniards grew intimately acquainted with these awful signals on the night of the 1st of July, 1520, when the various instruments called out the Mexican warriors to that pursuit which caused the slaughter on the dyke leading to Tlacopan. Every one reading the splendid descriptions of Mr. Prescott, of this bloody retreat ("History of the Conq. of Mexico," Book V, chap. III), will remember: "the "huge drum in the desolate temple of the war-god sent forth those solemn tones which, "heard only in seasons of calamity, vibrated through every corner of the capital" (p. 361, of Vol. II).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

again establishes the equality in rank of both officers, and it also dispels the notions of royal etiquette and magnificence with which, more particularly, the figure of "Wrathy chief" (Montezuma) has been surrounded in history.

The "chief of men" as head of the official household needed many assistants and subordinates. He required stewards for the care of the stores and their daily apportionment.[253] Especially did he need runners for the delivery of his messages. Such officers could be chosen by him and thus far, but no farther, did he enjoy the right of appointing subordinates.[254] But the appointment to a certain duty by the "chief of men," did not confer any hereditary rank or office. On the contrary, it is even probable that most of these posts were filled by outcasts, since this was, properly, the group from which the inferior servants for the transaction of tribal business could be selected without disturbing the balance of power between the kins.

The "Tecpan" being, as we have already stated, the "house of the community," that is the place where the business of the entire social cluster (as far as the tribe could represent it) was transacted, and, furthermore, it being proven that the same "tecpan"

"Face in the Water," existed a few years previous to that date. According to *Señor Don J. F. Ramirez* ("*Durán*," p. 251, note 1 to Cap. XXXI), disfigured remnants, among which the sign "1 cane" (ce-acatl) is plainly visible, can yet be noticed in the rock at Chapultepec on the eastern side of that celebrated hill or isolated bluff.

Now it is equally certain, that such carvings were not only commemorative of the "Tlaca-Tecuhtli," but *also* of the "Cihuacohuatl." See *Durán* (Cap. XXXI, pp. 250, 251). A somewhat different version, is given by *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap. XL, p. 65). It is remarkable, however, that comparatively little importance was attached to those funeral monuments. The place of Chapultepec itself, a very striking and conspicuous object and one with which many reminiscences were connected, was viewed as an object of "medicine." *Torquemada* (Lib. III, cap. XXVI, p. 303). That particular attention should be paid to the remains of an officer of high rank is very natural. It is found among the Iroquois, *L. H. Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, Cap. III, pp. 95 and 98. also, "*American aboriginal Architecture*" in *Johnson's Cyclopedia*). It would be useless to dwell further on the subject since it will be fully treated of in one of my subsequent monographs.

[253] It is not devoid of interest to notice, that this official household, in full "blast," appears only after the formation of the confederacy. *Codice Ramirez* (p. 65): "Puso assi mismo este Rey por consejo y industria del sabio Tlacaelel en muy gran concierto su casa y corte, poniendo oficiales que le servian de mayordomos, maestresalas, porteros, coperos, pajes y lacayos, los quales eran sin número. . . . . ." This is not only confirmed by *Durán* (Cap. XXVI), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXV and XXXVI), but even by *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIV, p. 169).

[254] This can easily be inferred from the fact, already established, that all the other kinds of officers of anything like important rank, were *elected* and not appointed. See also the passage, already quoted elsewhere, of *Durán* (Cap. LXIV, p. 496), which is very interesting in a general way.

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644 was also the regular seat and place of office of the highest author-
314 ity or "tribal council," it follows that peculiar and distinct relations must have existed between that council and the officer, whose duty it was to dwell at this same house. These relations are explained to us, partly, by the statement that the "chief of men" was placed there as a watchman, to guard tribal interests in the midst of confederate business.[255] He was to be present, day and night, at this abode which was the centre wherein converged the threads of information brought by traders, gatherers of tribute, scouts and spies, as well as of all messages sent to, or received from neighboring, friendly or hostile tribes. Every such message came directly to the "chief of men," whose duty it was, before acting, to transmit its import to the "Cihuacohuatl," and through him to call together the "Tlatocan."[256] Thus the "chief of men" occupied an intermediate position between the confederacy and the tribe. He might, ex-officio be present at the deliberations of the council, but that presence was not obligatory; and no decisive or commanding voice and vote was allowed him, beyond the weight that his reasoning and personal consideration for his merits and experience might carry.

643 Whenever any conclusion was reached, it became the "chief of men's" duty to provide for its execution. Thus, if traders returned illtreated, beaten, and bruised, and the Mexican council
● [202] clamored for revenge, he sent his runners to the confederate tribes, calling upon them for assistance, as the contract authorized the Mexicans to do. Sometimes these messengers were chiefs, selected by the council itself.[257] The result of their mission was reported

[255] An attentive perusal of *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, cap. X) will convince the reader of the truth of this statement. See also *Durán* (Cap. XLI, p. 328; cap. LII, pp. 414 and 415) and *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LVI, p. 92; cap. LXI, pp. 100 and 101; cap. LXXXII, p. 144).

[256] *Durán* (Cap. XII, p. 109): "Vuelto á Tlacaelel, le mandó avisase á los de su consejo que ablasen. . . ." also (Cap. XVI, pp. 122, 134 and 136; cap. XXI, p. 182; cap. XL, p. 316; cap. XLI, p. 330; cap. LIII, p. 419, etc., etc.). "*Codice Ramirez*," (p. 66). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXI, p. 32; cap. XXXVIII, p. 60; cap. XL, p. 65; cap. XLII, p. 69; cap. LVII, p. 93; cap. LXVIII, p. 114, etc.). Besides, it must be inferred from the fact, already proven, that the "Cihuacohuatl" was the "foreman" of the council. In this capacity, it was to him that the "chief of men" had to communicate all business to be submitted to the council.

[257] Instances of that kind are found profusely noticed in the specifically Mexican chronicles. Extensive quotations would become too lengthy, I therefore limit myself to mere indications, leaving the reader to consult the authors in question. *Tezozomoc* (*Crónica*," Cap. XXVII, p. 46, cap. XXVIII, p. 42, cap. XXXI, pp. 48 and 49, cap. XXXIV, p. 54, cap. XXXVII, p. 58, cap. LXXV, pp. 127 and 128, cap. LXXXVIII, p. 154, cap. LXXXIX, and XC, pp. 157 and 158). *Durán* (Cap. XVIII, pp. 156 and 157, cap. XIX, pp. 165 and 166, cap. XXI, p. 182, cap. XXII, p. 189, cap. XXIV, p. 201, etc., etc).

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nate results. It certainly required men of capacity and experience to fill such a position, and we need not wonder, therefore, if the "calpixca," whom Cortés met among the Totonacas of the coast, wore the distinctive tokens of chiefs.[299]

The conditions of tribute were various. Some tribes delivered their contributions every eighty days, whilst others sent them in annually.[300] In most cases, they had to be carried to Mexico-Tenuchtitlan by the tributaries, or at least, the delivery was at their charge.[301] This was done frequently by prisoners of war, made by the tributary pueblo and sent as part of the tribute itself.[302] The "calpixqui" superintended this intercourse, he verified the articles received, and again dispatched them, properly, to the "seat and home" of the Mexicans. All this necessitated

[299] *Bernal Dias de Castillo* (Cap. XLVI, pp. 40 and 41).

[300] The most complete record of tributes which we possess, until now, is contained in the so-called *Codex Mendoza* (Parte Segunda, plates XIX to LVII. inclusive). A full discussion of the multifarious details thereof is impossible here. It would require an essay by itself, which, however instructive it might be, would largely exceed the limits of this paper. Of course, not all the authorities agree with them. I merely refer, in addition, to *Durán* (Cap. XXV), *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, pp. 335, 6 and 7), *Clavigero* (Lib VII, cap. XV). *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXV), the latter as well as *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIII, pp. 167 and 168) confining himself to the Tezcucans and their tributaries exclusively. See furthermore, *Zurita* (pp. 346, 347 and 348), *Ramirez de Fuenleal* (Letter, p. 251). It is also interesting to consult the statements gathered on the tribute question, from tribes subject to the Mexicans. See, on *Chalco*, *Fray Domingo de la Anunciacion* (*Letter* dated: Chalco, 26 Sept., 1554, 2d "Recueil" of Mr. Ternaux-Compans. pp. 333 and 334): on *Matlatzinca*, *Zurita* (pp. 394-397), *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVIII, p. 149). The latter mostly copies from Zurita. Finally, much information as to the details can be gathered from the "*Codex Mendoza*" (pp. 43 and 68), and especially from the traditions on the *forays* and dashes of the Mexicans contained in the specifically Mexican sources already quoted.

[301] *Tezcucanos* (Cap. XXVII, p. 41, Cap. XXXIII, p. 52, Cap. LXI, p. 102, etc., etc.), *Durán* (Cap. LXIX, p. 171): "Pues miré que lo suelo de llevar á México vosotros mesmos. Ellos respondiéron que les placia de lo llevar allá y servillos, ..." (Cap. XXII. p. 291): "y que se obligasen á traello á México. . . ." (Cap. XXIV, p. 306, Cap. XXV, p. 328, etc., etc., etc.)

[302] *Durán* (Cap. XXV, pp. 312 and 313). Such female slaves became concubines. The various tribes exchanged also their prisoners of war, one tribe buying (exchanging for products of the soil or for manufactures) of another those prisoners which it had received as such tribute, and also presenting each other on solemn occasions with such prisoners. There are many illustrations of this to be found. Thus the markets of aboriginal Mexico also had "slaves," for sale, who were obtained in this manner. They were not numerous, and did not form a class, only an object of merchandise subject to exchange and barter. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," p. 32, Vedia I) only speaks of "bonded people" standing in the markets" or "contracts" ready to "bind" themselves—"to let." But *Bernal Dias de Castillo* (Cap. XCII, p. 68, Vedia II), evidently describes such unfortunate people: "á traizalos atadas en unas varas largas, con collares á los pescuezos porque no se les huyesen, y otros dejaban sueltos." The same author (Cap. XLVI, p. 41) mentions the demand made upon the "Totonacs's" of the coast by the Mexican "calpixca" for "twenty Indians of both sexes to pacify their Gods therewith." This is confirmed in a general way by *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," p. 12, Vedia I).

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assistants at his disposal — runners — who not only accompanied the convoys of tribute, but through whom a regular communication might be kept up with the Mexican tribe. On the strength of this, it has been fancied that not only a road-system analogous to that of the Romans, pervaded the entire area of actual Mexico, but that a perfect postal system was in full and successful operation. In regard to the first assumption we beg to refer to the letter of the Licentiate Salmeron, dated Mexico, 13th August, 1531, and directed to the council of the Indies:[303] "I believe that all through the land roads should be opened which would be practicable both for beasts of burthen and for carts. It would greatly increase the security of our possessions. Since the Indians had no beasts of burthen, their paths were straight and narrow, and so direct that they would not deviate an inch in order to avoid climbing the most rugged mountains." Over these Indian trails, where occasionally heavy culverts of stone, filled up gaps and spanned narrow ravines,[304] the tribute was forwarded to the pueblo of Tenuchtitlan, and the necessary runners moved swiftly, to and fro, as occasion required. But there was no regularity in this intercourse. There were no relays, and the Indian messenger relied, in order to traverse the wide belts of waste lands between tribe and tribe, upon his own endurance and upon the bag of provisions which he carried along.[305]

On solemn occasions, the convoys of tribute were not merely escorted by runners and watchmen detailed for that purpose by the "calpixqui," but that officer, himself, accompanied them and entered Mexico-Tenuchtitlan at their head.[306] The articles were carried to the "Tecpan" and then the duties of the "chief of men" in regard to tribute in general ended. For this tribute was not due to him, but to the tribe, and it was the tribal representa-

[303] "*Second Remedi de Plevne sur le Mexique*" (H. Ternaux-Compans, pp. 191 and 192).

[304] The collection of Lord Kingsborough has, among others, the pictures of so-called bridges. Anyone can see at a glance that they are mere heavy culverts. *Mr. H. H. Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. IV, p. 808) figures a bridge at Huejutla, but his argument in favor of its being an aboriginal construction appears to me very unsatisfactory. The masonry covering the mound at Motlalloyuca shows, according to his own words (*Id.* p. 681): "there is no evidence that the arch was intentionally self-supporting."

[305] We must always discriminate between delegates, entrusted with certain business to transact, and therefore also clothed with a certain authority, and mere runners. ("Correos"—"Yeiuhca tlitentli" *Molina I*, p. 26, from "Iciuhca"—quick and "tlitentli"—he who goes on an errand, II, pp. 72 and 112). The latter are very well described by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, pp. 585 and 586), although he presupposes relays at regular intervals. This was not the case, as the march of Cortés amply proves.

[306] "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 68).